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汉语手部动作常用词演变研究

——以《世说新语》语料为中心

On Evolution of Chinese Common Hand-motion Verbs
-Centered on Linguistic Sources from "Shi Shuo Xin Yu"

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摘 要

常用词是词汇系统的主要部分，在词汇系统中占有举足轻重的地位。常用词古今差异、南北分歧大，它们的发展和演变决定了词汇系统内部发展变化的方向。其重要性不言而喻。此外，动词又是常用词中非常重要的部分，特别是关于手部动作的动词，不仅人类及社会的诞生与用手进行劳动密切相关，而且日常生活更离不开手的作用。手是人类改造自然和社会的重要工具，是人与人之间进行交流的重要方法和途径之一。因此，考察手部动作的常用词有重要意义。

本文以前人对常用词研究的成果为理论指导，使用静态与动态相结合方法，以《世说新语》语料为中心，选取了 11 组表手部动作概念的手部动作常用词——即徒手类的“握持”义、“采摘”义、“捕捉”义、“放置”义、“拾捡”义、“弹奏”义和非徒手类的“擦拭”义、“捆绑”义、“洗涤”义、“砍伐”义、“舂捣”义等 39 个手部动作常用词为研究对象，对它们各自的同义聚合系统进行了古今南北全面的比较研究。首先，论文以义位为单位，详细梳理了十一组手部动作常用词的同义聚合系统在不同历史时期的演变情况和现代汉语不同方言的共时分布状况，分析了古今演变与南北差异之间的关系；论证了手部动作常用词在方言中的共时分布既是历时演变的结果，又是演变的一个过程；同时也说明了词语的义域、义值、义位古今南北的不同。其次，论文从整体上考察了这十一组手部动作的常用词词义演变类型与动因。手部动作常用词词义演变的类型主要有引申、同化、泛化和虚化四种类型，其演变的动因主要有客观动因、主观动因和语言动因。最后，论文从词汇史的角度考察手部动作常用词的演变，这些手部常用单音动词在历史上的变化都离不开双音化这个主流演变的特征。手部动作常用词的构词能力在词汇更替前后出现了分化。虽然新词替换了旧词，但旧词并没有退出历史舞台。这些旧词保留上古较古老的意义，且义项丰富，构词能力强。而新词由于出现的时间晚，口语性强，能独立使用，构词能力相对较弱。

手部动作常用词的纵横两向比较研究的事实反映了汉语基本词汇中的核心词是有历史更替的，更替并非把旧词开除出局，而是与新词“藕断丝连”。它们

经常在同一时期或不同时期同义连文，组合成词。更为常见的是新旧词义域的变化、组合关系的变动以及在不同方言中的传承与变异。而这些变化总是不断地论证着从上古汉语到中古以及近代汉语的几次剧变，也不断论证着官话方言与东南方言之间的巨大差异以及诸方言之间的不同历史层次的差别。

关键词：手部动作常用词；历时与共时；演变

Abstract

Common word is the key part of vocabulary system, in which it plays an important role. With its huge ancient-contemporary differences and southern-northern differences, the development and evolution of common word determines internally developmental direction of vocabulary system, which conveys its self-evident importance. In addition, verb is a very important part of common word, especially for hand-motion verbs, which are concerned with not only the birth of human and society created by handwork, but also with daily life closely related with hand labour. Hand is an important tool to change our nature and society, and one of major method and approach for human's communication. Consequently the research into common hand-motion verbs bears great significance.

The dissertation, with theoretical guidance by precedent researches into common word, selects eleven groups of hand-motion verbs as research object, basing on linguistic materials from "Shi Shuo Xin Yu", including freehand verbs, such as "grip", "pick", "capture", "place", "glean", "play", and thirty-nine non-freehand verbs, such as "wipe", "bundle", "wash", "fell", "mash", and so on. With static and dynamic combining methods the dissertation makes a comprehensively comparative research into their respective synonymous polymerization system, centered on their ancient-contemporary and southern-northern evolutions. Firstly, the dissertation checks detailedly their evolutions and contemporary dialectal synchronic distributions of synonymous polymerization systems by semantic unit, in order to analyze their links between ancient-contemporary evolutions and southern-northern differences. Accordingly the dissertation demonstrates that the dialectal synchronic distribution of common hand-motion verbs is not only an outcome of diachronic evolution, but also evolutionary process. At the same time, the dissertation explains their ancient-contemporary and southern-northern differences on semantic domain, semantic value and glosseme. Secondly, the dissertation examines their evolutionary patterns and reasons of eleven groups of hand-motion verbs' meaning as a whole. There exists four major evolutionary patterns of common hand-motion verbs' meaning, including extension, assimilation, generalization and grammaticalization,

and so on. Evolutionary causes can be divided into objective, subjective and linguistic cause. Finally, the dissertation examines evolutionary process of common hand-motion verbs in terms of lexical history, and finds that historical changes in common monosyllabic hand-motion verbs cannot be inseparable from bi-syllablization, as a mainstream of evolutionary pattern. The capacity of word-formation differentiates with their subrogations of common hand-motion verbs. New verbs replace old ones, but the old ones don't retreat from historical stage. Old verbs retain their ancient meanings, and have more rich meanings and strong capacity of word-formation. However, new verbs have relatively weak capacity of word-formation for their later appearance, evident colloquialness and independent use.

Horizontally and vertically comparative researches on common hand-motion verbs reflect historical transition of core words in Chinese basic vocabulary, which does not exclude old ones but retains some kind of linkage with new words. Consequently they often combine each other into new words in the same or different time. More obvious are changes in semantic domain, combinative variation and inheritance and mutation in different dialects. However, the changes always demonstrate not only several upheavals in from ancient, to medieval and modern Chinese, but also huge discrepancies between Mandarin dialects and Southeast dialects, as well as historical differences among various dialects.

Keywords: common hand-motion verbs; diachronic and synchronic; evolution

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